

E S S A Y
TOWARDS ESTABLISHING A
SYSTEM OF POLICE,
O N
CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES;
CONSISTING OF
P R O P O S I T I O N S
FOR THE EFFECTUAL AND IMMEDIATE
S U P P R E S S I O N
O F
VAGRANCY, THEFTS, BURGLARIES,
SWINDLING, AND OTHER ENORMITIES;
ALSO, FOR THE FUTURE BETTER
DISCIPLINE, INSTRUCTION, PROVISION, AND
EMPLOYMENT OF OUR NUMEROUS POOR.
The net annual Savings hence to be derived
are estimated at Four Millions.

ADDRESSED TO THE LEGISLATURE.

Ne dubita: nam vera vides.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED BY H. REYNELL, NO. 21, PICCADILLY,
FOR G. AND T. WILKIE, NO. 71, SAINT PAUL'S
CHURCH-YARD.
M.DCC.LXXXVI.



A N

E S S A Y, &c.

I. **T**HAT one principal or head office, named the police, be instituted in the city of LONDON, for the use of carrying on the proposed regulation or establishment; and that all other officers for the same, within the kingdom, be subordinate and accountable thereto. Moreover, that the proposed establishment be under the management of commissioners properly qualified for that purpose.

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REMARKS

R E M A R K S.

The following particulars naturally fall under this proposition, and shall, therefore, be here considered, viz. 1. The number of the commissioners. 2. Their respective salaries. 3. Their requisite qualifications in regard to ability and character. 4. The mode of their election, and by whom suspended or removed. 5. By whom controuled. 6. Their solicitor and his clerks. 7. The means by which they communicate the customs, instructions and statutes of police.

As the settlement of the above particulars must ultimately depend on the determination of the legislature, it may be thought unnecessary to make any specific propositions relative thereto, in this place; but nevertheless, as I have made up my opinion concerning them, the following scheme is suggested.

It is proposed,

1. That the number of commissioners be limited to five, and that three of them constantly attend at the police, and constitute a board.
2. That the salary of each commissioner exceed not the sum of one thousand pounds per annum.
3. That the commissioners, as well as the other officers employed in the proposed establishment, be, in every respect, men of unexceptionable characters, vigilant in their duty, and completely qualified for the faithful discharge of their respective offices. This ought the more to be insisted on, since. "The promotion of men of wisdom and integrity to offices of public trust, both in church and state, is the best expedient for preventing our destruction, and our obtaining a lasting settlement and prosperity."
4. That the patronage of right to appoint commissioners, be invested in the right honourable the speaker of the

house of commons ; but with this proviso, that the appointment consist not of the members of that house, and be always liable to suspension or removal by either branch of the legislature.

This appears to me to be a very eligible mode of appointing commissioners, and the least creative of undue influence that can be conceived or adopted. For it may reasonably be supposed, that the speaker of the BRITISH house of commons is eminently qualified to judge of the abilities and other qualifications requisite for the important office of commissioner, and that he will not degrade his understanding, nor derogate from the dignity of the honourable house over which he presides, by listening to the importunity of ministers and friends, or by making an injudicious appointment.

5. That the commissioners of police, promulgate no instructions, but what are conformable to the customs and statutes of the realm ; and that the lord high chan-

chancellor, and each of the twelve judges be empowered to suppress any part of the instructions of the commissioners, provided it appeared to them, that what they have promulgated is illegal or unconstitutional.

6. That a solicitor of the police be appointed, in the same manner as proposed for the appointment of commissioners; and that the salary for himself and clerks, be six hundred pounds per annum.

7. That a paper or advertiser, named the herald, be printed weekly at the police; that therein be occasionally published, the statutes, instructions, and customs aforesaid, and whatever may be found necessary for the effectually carrying on the proposed establishment; that all magistrates, inspectors, police-clerks, houses of industry, &c. be furnished with one or more of them, that they may severally regulate their conduct thereby. Moreover, that all stores, letters, advertisers, &c. that

that may occasionally be directed to or from the said head office, or any of the other offices thereto subordinate, be carried to or from any part of the kingdom, postage free, by and at the expence of the general post-office.

II. That other offices be instituted (as intimated above) one in every city and market-town, if thought necessary; which offices may not improperly be called register-offices; that each of these offices have a division assigned them, and an officer called the register or police-clerk, and that these several officers be appointed by the commissioners aforesaid, and be accountable to them in whatever regards the police.

REMARKS

R E M A R K S.

The following particulars may be thought to deserve consideration, viz.

1. The term division.
2. The office or business of the police-clerks.
3. Their respective salaries.
4. By whom suspended and removed.

It is proposed,

1. That a division consist of a single city or town with its adjacent parishes; which may therefore, comprehend five, six, seven, eight, or nine parishes. The extent of the division to be generally limited by the number of its houses and inhabitants.

As I shall have occasion to make mention of other divisions in the course of my plan, it will not be deemed improper, if in this place, I take the liberty of explaining them: it is proposed therefore, that ENGLAND and WALES be divided into sixty grand divisions, called decades; each

each of these decades I propose also to subdivide into ten districts, which will make their number six hundred; and as each of these sub-divisions or districts, must, in consequence thereof, comprise sixteen or seventeen parishes, so may they likewise consist of two or three divisions: The term decade is used, because the number of districts contained in it consists of ten, and the reason for adopting this division will fully appear in a subsequent proposition.

2. That the business of the police-clerks, be to grant certificates of residence to the inhabitants of their respective divisions whenever they apply for them, and register and file all entries that are made, as well as the certificates of new residents. The rest of the business of the police-clerks, as also the entries and certificates here mentioned, will be fully explained hereafter.

3. The salaries of these officers must be fixed by others; but as I shall have occasion to estimate the pecuniary advantages and disadvantages resulting from the adoption

tion

tion of my plan, I am under the necessity of being specific ; it is proposed, therefore, that each of their salaries be sixty pounds per annum.

4. That their suspension and removal be left entirely to the option of the commissioners.

III. That two officers, called inspectors of the police, be elected by the suffrages of the gentlemen composing the committee of each district, out of six persons of respectable character and ability, previously nominated by the magistrates.

R E M A R K S.

As the term district has been previously explained, and as the mode for electing inspectors is proposed to be the same as that proposed hereafter for delegates, the

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only

only points, which I shall here touch upon are the following, viz. 1. The office of the inspectors. 2. Their salaries. 3. Their suspension and removal.

It is proposed,

1. That their office be to superintend the police-clerks, audit the accompts of the house of industry, report the mis-conduct of the magistrates, and communicate to the several inhabitants of their district the instructions and statutes of police, and observe whether they comply with those instructions and statutes, and whenever the inhabitants of their district neglect or refuse to comply with them, enforce obedience by such means as the laws in that case may provide.

2. That each of their salaries do not exceed one hundred and twenty pounds per annum.

3. That the inspectors be liable to suspension by two or more magistrates, and to removal by the commissioners.

IV. That other officers, called messengers, be appointed by the inspectors of each district, one for each division, to assist occasionally the police-clerks ; that they be subject to removal by the commissioners, and to suspension by the inspectors or clerks aforesaid ; and that their salaries be forty pounds per annum.

V. That all magistrates or justices of the peace, strictly conform to the statutes, instructions, and customs of police ; and that whenever they act contrary thereto, or will not comply with them, that they be suspended and deprived of their commissions.

REMARKS.

It may perhaps be asked,—“ In whom is the authority of suspension and deprivation to be invested ? ” and, “ By what means is the magistrate to obtain redress, supposing he thought himself suspended or deprived of his commission undeservedly ? ” As these are questions that may come under consideration, I shall take the liberty of suggesting the following mode of procedure, which appears to me to be strictly constitutional and well adapted for the purpose : let the power of suspension only be invested in the commissioners,—let them exercise that power whenever it appears to them that the magistrate is guilty of malpractices, or notorious delinquency ; and if after suspension the magistrate refuse to make his appeal within a limited time, he should in consequence thereof, be deprived of his commission ; but in case he thought himself aggrieved, his appeal should be to bring the matter to issue before a jury, in the common courts of judicature, and the
result

result should reinstate him in his function, or totally deprive him of his commission, as the verdict may, or may not be in his favour.

VI. That all housekeepers be compelled to make yearly, on a certain day appointed for that purpose, an entry in writing, and deliver the same at the register office of the division wherein they may severally reside; that they insert therein, their own names, and the respective names of every person residing with them, be they either wife, parents, children, lodgers or servants; and also each person's respective rank, profession, or employment; date of birth, if possible, parish, district, and county wherein they may severally be born or bred.

REMARKS

R E M A R K S.

Innumerable almost are the advantages that may be derived from the adoption of this proposition: for hereby we might easily obtain an accurate statement of the population of the whole kingdom, or of any particular part of it, and know whether it increases or decreases, the number of males or females, the number of persons of any particular age, and likewise what number is employed at any time in each of the several branches of trade or different callings. Hereby might easily be ascertained the number of our people of every description and age, that is necessarily unemployed, and be enabled thereby to investigate the several causes thereof, whether it be owing to their local situation, or any other latent source, and apply an adequate remedy. It would prevent many expensive litigations, that are entirely owing to our defective parish registers, “ which do not in many instances
 “ enable

“ enable suitors in courts of justice to re-
 “ cover their right, when no other evi-
 “ dence is wanting.” It no doubt would
 be thought of very great importance and
 utility by those gentlemen who exercise
 themselves in political arithmetic, and it
 would put a stop to much clamour, and
 useless controversy, and idle speculation
 that will frequently arise for the want of
 it; in short, it will be infinitely serviceable
 in averting most of the evils we daily ex-
 perience from the corruption of human
 nature, without the risk of lessening the
 freedom and privileges we at present in-
 herit, and which we derive from our very
 excellent and unparalleled constitution.
 The only grievance (if it may be called
 such) an honest citizen can possibly ex-
 perience from the adoption of the plan be-
 fore us, will be the loss of a small portion
 of time (fifteen or twenty minutes an-
 nually perhaps); this when compared
 with the additional liberty and security he
 will procure by the exchange, becomes
 evanescent.

VII. That

VII. That no persons employ on their premises, or receive into their houses, any persons whatever, as boarders, lodgers, servants, or artisans, unless they be entered at one of the register-offices of the district wherein they be so employed or received. This may easily be known by the certificate of residence, or by previous acquaintance.

VIII. That all persons who knowingly conceal, or concert measures for the concealment of any person transgressing the laws or flying from justice, or that may be privy to such concealment, be deemed guilty of felony, or be subject to serve in some house of industry, for a certain term, or for life.

of

Of Certificates.

The following certificates appear to me to be indispensably requisite in a plan of this nature, they have all their uses, and the omission of either of them would be a manifest imperfection.

1. *Certificates of Commencement.*

IX. That all persons, on the commencement of this establishment, be compelled to produce a certificate of their respective names, dates of birth, if possible ; also the parish, district, and county wherein they severally may be born or bred.

R E M A R K S.

The adoption of this proposition will be productive of much good to the community ; it will infallibly detect all swindlers,

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and all other persons whatever, who through fear of receiving those just rewards which they merit from the hands of justice, have been necessitated to abscond from their usual place of residence, and who still subsist by committing depredations on the public, and by assuming a feigned name.

2. *Certificates of Removal.*

X. That all persons removing from one district to another, be compelled, on removal, to produce a certificate from the police-clerk of the division they are going to quit, to the police-clerk of their intended residence ; and that this certificate be granted by the former at the time of removal, and be registered and filed at the office of the latter.

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3. *Certificates of Residence.*

XI. That all persons before they be admitted as residents of any district, be obliged to obtain a certificate of residence from one of the register-offices established in such district.

R E M A R K S.

In order to guard against the use of counterfeit certificates, it is proposed, that a copy of all the certificates of removal and residence which are granted, be transmitted weekly, or oftener, to the police, and there compared, as it will be a sure means of detection, and consequently of prevention.

4. *Certificates for departing the Kingdom.*

XII. That all persons going abroad be compelled to take out a certificate of removal, at the register-office of the division wherein they usually reside; that therein be inserted the place at which they intend to embark; and that this certificate be registered at the register-office of the place so inserted, previous to their embarking.

R E M A R K S.

This proposition, if adopted, might not only be made a sure means of preventing delinquents of all kinds from going beyond seas, with a view to escape impending justice, but might also be rendered of very
great

great importance to our fleets and armies, as well as to our manufactories ; as it is perhaps the best expedient for preventing emigrations, which is one principal cause of a country's depopulation. It might enable us, with tolerable accuracy, to ascertain the number of our countrymen, absentees in foreign parts, their quality, and cause of absence : and, in concert with the foregoing propositions, finally put a stop to desertions, both in the navy and army ; and prevent any acquisition to our enemies on that account.

5. *Certificates for coming into the Kingdom:*

XIII. That all persons coming into the kingdom, be compelled to take out a certificate at the place of landing ; that therein be inserted their names, the country from, and the ship or vessel, in which they came ;

came ; and likewise the town or district to which they are bound, or in which they intend to become a resident.

R E M A R K S.

Hence might be easily ascertained the number of foreigners at any time residing among us, their quality, place of residence, and employment ; also be enabled thereby to discover their real utility or prejudice to the state, secure our dock-yards and fortifications from their inspection, and determine whether it would be prudent to subject certain orders of them to taxation.

XIV. That houses of industry be established, one in each district, for the reception and comfortable maintenance of the aged and infirm poor, and for the purpose of correcting all idle, disorderly, and
vicious

vicious persons, and employing all those who cannot get employment elsewhere; also a board of commerce and agriculture, consisting of sixty delegates, one from each decade, at the head office or police, for the use of carrying on a mutual intercourse between the several houses aforesaid, so as to render the institution as beneficial to the whole community as possible; and likewise a committee of gentlemen, consisting of thirty members, conversant in the several branches of trade, manufactories, and agriculture, in each decade and district, for devising modes of employment and discipline for the above houses; and that they meet quarterly, and communicate the result

sult of their deliberations to the said board.

R E M A R K S.

This proposition comprehends three general heads, or rather three institutions, viz. 1. The board of trade and agriculture. 2. The committees. 3. The houses of industry; of which, for the sake of perspicuity, I shall treat in order.

1. *The board of commerce and agriculture.*

Here it will be necessary to consider the following particulars, viz. 1. By whom the delegates are to be nominated and appointed. 2. Their requisite qualifications. 3. The mode of their election, 4. The extent of their enquiries, and the data upon which they deliberate, and ground their decisions. 5. The time and continuance of their meeting. 6. Their respective salaries. 7. Their respective officers or clerks. 8. The medium by which their general and occasional instructions are to be communicated

municated to the several committees and houses of industry.

It is proposed,

1. That a majority of the magistrates in the decade nominate six gentlemen, out of the thirty members of the decade committee; and that out of this nomination, the twenty-four remaining members elect one for their representative or delegate.

2. That the nomination consist of those members of the decade committee, which are most experienced in trade and agriculture.

3. That a book, called the election register, be kept in each committee-room: That this book consist of six columns, one for each nominee; that each of the twenty-four decade committee-men, who are not nominated, write, at the time of an election, their respective names in the column appropriated to that nominee, which

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they respectively judge best qualified to answer the end of the delegation ; and if there be an equality of names in favour of two or more nominees, that the appointment be decided by lot.

4. That the office of the delegates be to deduce general and occasional rules and regulations for the discipline, employment and maintenance, of the several houses of industry, from the instructions and data transmitted to them, by their respective constituents, and strictly adhere to the precepts of parliament.

5. That the whole body of the delegates meet during the sitting of parliament, in order to deliberate on such matters as may be propounded by the legislature and their respective constituents ; and that fifteen only attend during a prorogation.

6. That each of their salaries be three hundred pounds per annum.

7. That

7. That sixty clerks be appointed at the police or board, one for each decade, to transact the business and correspondence thereof, both for the commissioners and delegates; that each delegate appoint one; and that the salary of each clerk be eighty pounds per annum. Moreover, that these clerks be superintended by the delegates.

8. That their general instructions to the several committees and houses of industry be communicated in the herald before-mentioned, and particular and occasional instructions by letter.

2. The Committees.

These are of two sorts, which shall be considered apart.

1. Of District Committees.

The particulars which demand consideration under this section, appear to be the following, viz. 1. The appointment of

the committees, and the qualifications requisite for the members thereof. 2. What persons are to be secluded from acting in them. 3. The proper business of the committees. 4. With whom they may advise. 5. Their secretary or clerk.

It is proposed;

1. That parochial lists of all the principal landholders, farmers, traders, and manufacturers, be delivered to the magistrates of the district by the churchwardens or overseers of the several parishes; that the magistrates nominate two, four, or six persons in each list (as may be deemed adequate to the number of names contained therein) so that the whole nomination in the district, may consist of sixty respectable persons; and that the persons remaining in each list, who are not nominated, elect one; two, or three; namely, one half of the number nominated to be their respective quota of committee-men.

As

As the mode for electing committee-men, is proposed to be essentially the same, as that already proposed for delegates; it needs only to be remarked, that whenever the number to be elected is (as in the present instance) more than one, the electors must severally sign their names in each of the columns appropriated to the several nominees, which they respectively think best qualified to answer the end of their being elected.

2. That the clergy and magistracy be secluded from acting as committee-men: their respective functions being incompatible therewith, supposing they were in other respects properly qualified for it.

3. That the several committees meet quarterly to examine into, and rectify all abuses that come under their jurisdiction, in their respective districts; also approve or reject, all new propositions offered to their consideration, for the employment, discipline, provision or maintenance of the several houses of industry, by any of the inhabitants;

inhabitants; and approve of, or remonstrate against, the adoption of any proposition submitted to their consideration by the board.

4. That all persons whatever be at liberty to offer any proposition relative to the employment, discipline, provision, or maintenance, of the said houses of industry, with their reasons in support of it, but with this restriction, that they deliver the proposition and reasons in writing only.

5. That the inspectors jointly act as secretary and clerk to the committee in their district.

2. Of Decade Committees.

The several articles which come under consideration in this last section, are the following, viz. 1. By whom the decade committee is to be nominated and appointed. 2. Their requisite qualifications. 3. The mode of their election. 4. Their business.

business. 5. The time of their meeting.

6. Their secretary or clerk.

It is proposed,

1. That a majority of the magistrates in a district, nominate six gentlemen out of the thirty members of the district-committee; and, that out of this nomination, the twenty-four remaining members elect three for their quota of representatives in the decade committee.

2. That the nomination consist of those members of the district-committee, who are most experienced in trade and agriculture.

3. That the mode of their election be the same as that for district-committeemen.

4. That their office be to approve, reject, or amend, all propositions propounded by their respective constituents,
and

and transmit the result of their deliberations to the board.

5. That they meet quarterly, and at a stated time, after the meeting of the district-committees.

6. That a secretary be elected by the suffrages of the members of this committee, out of six persons of respectable character and ability, previously nominated by the magistrates, in the same manner as proposed for inspectors: that he be also treasurer and general inspector to the whole decade, and that his salary be one hundred and sixty pounds per annum.

N. B. Every committee to appoint its own chairman.

3. *The Houses of Industry.*

For the effectually carrying on the establishment, and rendering it as beneficial to the whole community, as possible.

It is proposed,

1. That every person desirous of becoming a governor, chaplain, apothecary, or any other officer in these houses of industry, deliver, or cause to be delivered to one of the inspectors, days previous to the day of election, a notice in writing, specifying their names, place of abode, and the office for which they become candidates; and that the inspectors duly enter the same into a book, provided and kept at the place of election for that purpose.

2. That canvassing be disallowed, and that any person being convicted thereof, be deemed ineligible to serve in any office whatever.—Query, whether the reformation of parliament might not be obtained in the same manner?

3. That the three gentlemen of the decade committee in each district, nominate six proper persons, out of the list of candidates for each of the several offices; and

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that

that the twenty-seven remaining members of the district-committee, elect one for each office in the usual manner.

4. That the governors and other officers of these houses be subject to removal by the board of delegates, or two or more magistrates, and to suspension by five or more of the committee.

5. That all casual or incidental relief to sailors, soldiers, &c. travelling on the road, and to all necessitous persons out of the houses, be paid by the several police-clerks, at the register-offices; and that no relief whatever be given by the said clerks, without a written order under the signature of some responsible magistrate or committee-man.

6. That a chapel be erected in or near each house of industry, that prayers be read therein morning and evening, every day of the week, and divine service every lord's-day, by the chaplain.

7. That

7. That in these houses of industry, a distinction be made in the labour, food, and raiment, of those who are offenders against the community, and those who go thither only for employment; and that the labour, food, raiment, time of servitude, and degrees of liberty and restraint of the several offenders, be proportioned to their several offences.

8. That all those offenders who conduct themselves in a becoming manner, be entitled, at the expiration of their servitude, to whatever they may earn over and above what may be necessary for their subsistence.

9. That all petty offenders be subject to serve in the army or navy; that the most notorious and incorrigible offenders be constantly and laboriously employed in works of national utility—in digging canals for

inland navigation—cultivating waste lands
—improving roads—erecting fortifications
—opening mines, &c. &c.

10. That all offenders found out of the limits appropriated to them, be subject to an adequate punishment; and that all persons observing any one habited in a felonious garb*, or branded in the face, cause such person to be immediately secured, and delivered to some house of industry.—Prisons, chains, and fetters, will be altogether useless.

* A Garb should be appropriated to felons, as a mark of distinction,

Recovery of Small Debts.

11. That there be no distraints nor arrests for debt, unless for sums exceeding twelve pounds; that each district-committee be a court of conscience for recovering debts

debts not exceeding that sum, and regulating the payment thereof, by weekly or monthly payments, and in such portions as the circumstances and ability of the several debtors will admit ; and that all debtors who are contumacious and insolvent, through their own folly, and not by unavoidable events, be subject to serve a limited time in some house of industry.

Public Seminaries.

12. That a public school be established in each of these houses, for the maintenance and instruction of poor orphans, and the children of poor parents. That the boys and girls be all instructed in reading, writing, and accounts ; and the latter in every kind of useful needle-work, and every other necessary domestic employment. That they continue at these seminaries until their parents, or the public get other employment for them. That they be employed during their residence at school, a certain number of hours each

each day, in some kind of manufacture. And that part of the earnings of those hours be laid out for them in cloaths and other necessary articles, when they go into their apprenticeships, or into service.

13. That all boys instructed and raised in these seminaries, be obliged to serve in the national militia, or be exempted by paying a certain fine.

A serjeant and a few men might be quartered in each house of industry, and train all those to arms who are able to bear them, and alternately visit each division, and keep those in practice who are discharged therefrom.

In the course of half a century, this would furnish us with 200,000 effective men; for in a table consisting of 980,000 inhabitants of all ages, I find that 179,000 of them are between 6 and 16 years of age, and 524,000 between 16 and 56: now supposing that 100,000 of the former will be in the several seminaries, which is less than we have reason to expect, the number of
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the latter, of a fit age to bear arms, will be 292,000, and granting 92,000 of these exempted from serving, by paying the fine, or through infirmities, there will remain 200,000 for our militia, as was said above.

The following clause was subjoined to this proposition, viz. And that all those who choose to be registered for the army or navy, have double the pay of a common foldier or failor during service, and half-pay ever after.—But it being represented to me, that “ It would infallibly create disaffection and mutiny among all the other soldiers and failors, and be a certain means of ruining both army and navy.” I agreed to the objectionable part being rescinded. Yet, I cannot but think that there is wanting some inducement greater than the stipend of a common foldier or failor, to prevail on them to enter themselves as volunteers in the service of their country. I abhor impressing for the service, because I suppose it founded on principles of slavery, and not a measure of necessity

cessity : perhaps if the army and navy were better paid, it would make better soldiers and sailors, obviate the customary mode of impressing, and render them more respectable ; but this is on a subject I am by no means qualified to judge.

Pre-

Prevention of Crimes and Misdemeanors.

1. *Of Burglaries and Theft.*

XV. That all pawnbrokers, dealers in plate, jewels, &c. be obliged to provide two books, one for entering all goods, plate, jewels, &c. and the other for registering the certificates of the persons of whom they buy such Goods, &c. or receive in pawn. And that the entry-book, register-book, goods, plate, &c. be liable to the inspection of the police, or other officers.

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XVI. That

XVI. That a melting-office be established in the metropolis for reducing all gold and silver plate, &c. into bullion. That those who having occasion to reduce plate into bullion, be obliged to have it done at this office. That this bullion be stamp'd, weigh'd and registered in the name of the person to whom it belongs. And that all new plate, wire, &c. both of gold and silver, be brought to the same office, weigh'd, stamp'd and registered there in like manner.

XVII. That pawnbrokers, &c. having in their possession goods, &c. that are stolen and not entered as aforesaid, or unstamp'd bullion, be deemed receivers of stolen goods.

2. *Of*

Of smuggling, poaching, and idleness.

XVII. That all boats and vessels be entered at the custom-house of each district, numbered, and have the true owner's name and place of abode affixed, or be liable to confiscation.

XIX. That all persons employed in any boat or vessel that has contraband goods on board, or convicted of selling or carrying such goods, or of poaching, or that cannot make it appear by what means they obtain a livelihood, be compelled to serve a limited time in some house of industry.

XX. That all the apartments of inns, taverns, and public-houses, whatever, (under certain restrictions be subject to the inspection of the police. And that for every implement of gaming, and for every interdicted person found in such apartments, the occupier of such inn, tavern, or public-house, be subject to or deprived of his licence.

I must beg leave to insert a part of a paragraph from dean SWIFT'S project for the advancement of religion and reformation of manners, because it is pertinent and worthy being adopted. " It
 " would be very instrumental to have a
 " law made, that all taverns, or ale-
 " houses, should be obliged to dismiss
 " their company by twelve at night, and
 " shut up their doors ; and that no wo-
 " man (of ill-fame, I suppose) should be
 " suffered

“ suffered to enter any tavern or alehouse
 “ upon any pretence whatever. It is easy
 “ to conceive, what a number of ill con-
 “ sequences such a law would prevent ;
 “ the mischiefs of quarrels, and lewd-
 “ nefs, and thefts, and midnight brawls,
 “ the diseases of intemperance and venery ;
 “ and a thousand other evils, needless to
 “ mention. Nor would it be amiss, if
 “ the masters of those houses were ob-
 “ liged, upon the severest penalties, to
 “ give only a proportioned quantity of
 “ drink to every company ; and when he
 “ found his guests disordered with excess,
 “ to refuse them any more.”

XXI. That no licence be granted in any district, without the consent of a majority of the committee.

3. *Of Horse-stealing.*

XXII. That an impost be laid on all horses bought or sold; that the
 buyer

buyer pay the duty, and certify the name of the person, of whom bought, or the horses so bought, be subject to confiscation.

Oeconomical Propositions.

XXIII. That the register-offices (mentioned in the second proposition) be the stamp and post-offices of their respective divisions; and that the police-clerks, assisted by the messengers, do the post-office duty, and in this part of their duty be subordinate and accountable to the general post-office.

XXIV. That the land-tax, poor's-rates, church-rates, county-rates, highway compositions, &c. &c. upon all lands and tenements throughout

out the kingdom be in just proportion to the rental value of such lands and tenements; and that when any person occupy his own lands and tenements, the proportionate taxation of such lands or tenements be ascertained by the district-committees, or the commissioners of the land-tax. It is likewise proposed, that the inspectors be clerks to the commissioners of the land-tax.

XXV. That all persons make annually an entry of the names and rental value of all lands and tenements which they severally occupy, of whom held, and also deliver the same into the hands of the police-clerk, on the same day as appointed for the making of the entry mentioned,

tioned in the sixth proposition, at the register-office of the division as therein expressed, with the reputed or real quantity of such lands ; that the rental value of such lands and tenements inserted in this entry, be the same as the agreement between the occupier and his landlord, or the adjustment of the committee or commissioners of the land-tax. And at the time of making this entry, that they likewise make a true entry of all windows, servants, dogs, horses, carts, waggons, carriages, boats, vessels, &c. &c. that now is, or may hereafter become subjects of taxation.

XXVI. That rents for lands or tenements be not recoverable, unless

less the agreements for such rents be signed by the police-clerk, and registered in the register-office.

If it be too difficult to comply with this proposition, in that part wherein it is proposed, that "the agreements for such rents be signed by the police-clerk," let what is necessary to be known be communicated by letter, either by a servant or otherwise; and let the police-clerk return a copy signed by him for a security, or let the tenant be sworn to the truth of his entry.

XXVII. That the land-tax, poor's-rates, church-rates, county-rates, highway-compositions, house-tax, nomination for the militia, juries, &c. and all taxes on windows, servants, dogs, horses, waggons, carriages, boats, vessels, &c. that now is, or that may hereafter be-

G

come

come subjects of taxation, be abstracted and ascertained from the documents registered and filed at the register-offices, and that the inspectors ascertain the several taxes and duties from the entries, and collect them, on certain days appointed for that purpose, in every parish.

R E M A R K S.

Provision should be made that each parish contribute no more in the aggregate, towards the land-tax, poor's-rate, church-rate, county-rate, &c. than what had been raised therein, on those several accounts, on a medium of the last three or four years, because a general and equal rate, for those purposes, upon all lands and tenements, &c. throughout the kingdom, as above proposed, will, without such restriction, be considered as an act of injustice, and consequently produce much discontent and opposition

sition.—But it is apprehended, that under the proposed establishment (supposing it were carried into execution, agreeably to its spirit and intention) there will be very little, or scarce any cause for complaint, as the general rate, can seldom or never be higher than that of the lowest rated parishes.

Those parishes likewise that may sustain loss, by being incorporated under Mr. Gilbert's act, ought to be indemnified all extraordinary expences incurred thereby, and be reimbursed out of the general fund levied in aid of the proposed establishment.

The statement of the yearly expences of the proposed establishment, and of the savings and other pecuniary advantages to be derived therefrom, I shall not pretend to set forth with sufficient accuracy, and therefore it will be necessary to advertise the

reader that what follows, on that head, is not intended to deceive or mislead the public, but is published with a view to obtain the sentiments of those who may, from their situation in life, have had opportunities to be better informed, and also to communicate to others, a faint idea of its singular importance.

An

An estimate of the yearly expences of the proposed establishment.

	£.
Interest at 5%. per cent. on 60,000/.	
for purchasing land, and erecting a police-office - - -	3,000
Allowing for repairs 1%. per cent. on the above 60,000/.	600
Five commissioners of police at 1,000/.	5,000
Solicitor of police and clerks, per annum - - - -	600
Sixty delegates, each 300/.	18,000
per annum - - - -	
Sixty clerks to ditto, each 80/.	4,800
per annum - - - -	
There will be 1,800 decade committee-men, each 6/.	
per annum allowed for expences, viz. 30s. each meeting - -	10,800
Also, 18,000 district committee-men, each 3/.	
per annum allowed for expences, viz. 15s. each meeting - -	54,000
Carried up	£. 96,800

Brought up £. 96,800

Sixty general inspectors or treasurers, one in each decade, each 160l. per annum	-	9,600
Interest at 5l. per cent. on 180,000l. for purchasing 12,000 acres of land, viz. 20 acres for each house of industry, at 15l. per acre	-	9,000
Interest at 5l. per cent. on 3,600,000l. for purchasing materials and building 600 houses of industry, at 6,000l. each house	-	180,000
Allowing for repairs 1l. per cent. on the above sum	-	36,000
There will be 1,200 inspectors, each 120l. per annum	-	144,000
There will (allowing five for two districts) be 1,500 police-clerks, each 60l. per annum		90,000
Also the like number of messengers, each 40l. per annum		60,000
Carried up	£.	625,400

Brought up £. 625,400

Also the like number of police-		
offices for rent and taxes, each		
12/. per annum	- -	18,000
Six hundred governors, with		
their wives, to act as gover-		
nesses, each 80/. per annum		
		48,000
Sub-governors, four in each		
house, to instruct the boys,		
and superintend the several		
departments allotted to them,		
each 20/. per annum	- -	48,000
Sub-governesses, four in each		
house, to instruct the girls,		
and superintend the several		
departments allotted to them,		
each 15/. per annum	-	36,000
Six hundred surgeons, &c. each		
60/. per annum	- -	36,000
Six hundred chaplains, each 60/.		
per annum	- -	36,000
Incidents per annum	- -	12,600
Total of the estimate of expences £. 860,000		

A pre-

Brought up £. 96,800

Sixty general inspectors or treasurers, one in each decade, each 160l. per annum	-	9,600
Interest at 5l. per cent. on 180,000l. for purchasing 12,000 acres of land, viz. 20 acres for each house of industry, at 15l. per acre	-	9,000
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There will (allowing five for two districts) be 1,500 police-clerks, each 60l. per annum		90,000
Also the like number of messengers, each 40l. per annum		60,000

 Carried up £. 625,400

Brought up £. 625,400

Also the like number of police-offices for rent and taxes, each

12/. per annum - - 18,000

Six hundred governors, with their wives, to act as governesses, each 80/. per annum 48,000

Sub-governors, four in each house, to instruct the boys, and superintend the several departments allotted to them, each 20/. per annum - - 48,000

Sub-governesses, four in each house, to instruct the girls, and superintend the several departments allotted to them, each 15/. per annum - 36,000

Six hundred surgeons, &c. each 60/. per annum - - 36,000

Six hundred chaplains, each 60/. per annum - - 36,000

Incidents per annum - - 12,600

Total of the estimate of expences £. 860,000

A pre-

A presumptive estimate of the savings and other pecuniary advantages that will probably accrue to the public from the adoption of the proposed establishment.

If the several overseers were paid adequate salaries for their expences, and trouble in executing their respective offices, the expences for each parish, on a medium, cannot be estimated less than 10/. per annum 100,000

The amount of bills paid to surgeons and apothecaries, on account of the poor, may be supposed to amount, on a medium to 10/. per annum, in each parish - 100,000

The like sum may be estimated for the salaries of governors and governesses, under the present establishment - 100,000

Carried up £. 300,000

Brought up £. 300,000

Rent paid on account of the
poor, may be supposed to
amount, on a medium, to 20/
per annum in each parish 200,000

The salaries of vestry-clerks, and
the contingent expences arising
from entertainments relative
to the poor, removals, litiga-
tions concerning settle-
ments, and many other parti-
culars too numerous to men-
tion, on a medium, 15/ in
each parish - - 150,000

The greatest part of the expence
of educating poor children,
ultimately falls on the public,
this may be estimated at per
annum - - 100,000

The salaries of the several col-
lectors, assessors, &c. of the
land-tax, post-masters, and
other tax-gatherers, may be es-
timated at per annum - 100,000

H

Carried up £. 850,000

Brought up £. 850,000

Expences of gaols, prosecutions for theft, distraints and arrests for debt, &c. which, it is to be hoped will (should the proposed establishment take place) be nearly annihilated, this I estimate at 10% per annum in each parish - 100,000

Supposing 20,000 rogues and vagabonds (two in a parish) that live on the public by swindling, theft, &c. and each capable of becoming useful members of society, or earning 10% per annum - - 100,000

Supposing 150,000 persons necessarily unemployed, and each capable of earning 10% per annum - - 1,500,000

Supposing 200,000 poor boys and girls unemployed, and one with the other capable of earning 3*l*. 10*s*. per annum 700,000

Carried up £. 3,250,000

Brought up £. 3,250,000

The proposed establishment will be a probable (if not a certain) means of manufacturing all our wool, prevent its being exported, annihilate every species of smuggling, and in consequence thereof, enrich the nation many millions annually but I shall estimate it at only

- - 1,610,000

Total of the estimate of savings 4,860,000

Total of the estimate of expences - -

860,000

Remains the nett annual savings - -

£. 4,000,000

C O N C L U S I O N.

Semper ad eventum festinat.

IN the execution of the above scheme, I have endeavoured to be as concise and intelligible as I possibly could ; and I flatter myself, that whoever shall give it a careful perusal, will perceive it to be calculated for promoting general order and tranquility, and for securing more effectually the persons and properties of the subjects of this country from violence, not by the introduction and increase of penal laws, which are already too numerous, but by establishing salutary and adequate modes

modes of prevention : Now, as it is universally acknowledged, that a reform in the police of this country, is at this time, become highly expedient, it is apprehended that the present attempt, however imperfectly executed, will be received with candor and benevolence by all who have the least concern for the public welfare, or for posterity.

As I am not aware of any material objection, in respect to the propriety or practicability of the proposed establishment, but what may be easily obviated; nor of any thing wanting, but what common sense and common honesty may readily and easily supply ; and as the administration of it cannot be liable to abuse, but will from its commencement continually approximate to perfection, it is hoped these considerations alone will justify me in not saying any thing farther in its defence, and be a sufficient apology for my submitting the whole to the serious consideration

consideration of the legislature, and of the public, for whose benefit, with the best intentions, it is composed by their respectful servant,

GEORGE BARRETT.

Godalming,

Sept. 1786.



F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Page 1, line 6, read *offices*, for *officers*.

Page 24, line 2 from the bottom, the letter *l*, is omitted.

E. R. T. A.



THE LIBRARY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

11

PLAIN TRUTH,

O R

Trade in America

46.

SERIOUS CONSIDERATIONS

On the PRESENT STATE of the
CITY of PHILADELPHIA,
A N D

PROVINCE of PENNSYLVANIA.

By a TRADESMAN of Philadelphia.

Franklin
Capta urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per Deos immortales, vos
ego appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras, tan-
ta aestimationis fecistis; si ista, cujuscunque modi sint, quæ am-
plexamini, retinere; si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere vultis;
expergiscimini aliquando, & capeßite rempublicam. Non agitur
nunc de sociorum injuriis; LIBERTAS & ANIMA nostra in du-
bio est. Dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est. Vos cunctamini
etiam nunc, & dubitatis quid faciatis? Scilicet, res ipsa aspera
est, sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxime; sed inertiam &
multitudinem animi, alius alium exspectant, cunctamini; videlicet,
Dii immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maximis peri-
culis servavere. NON VOTIS, NEQUE SUPPLICIIS MULIE-
RIBUS, AUXILIA DEORUM PARANTUR: vigilando, agen-
do, bene consulendo, prospere omnia cedunt. Ubi socordiam te æ at-
que ignavia tradideris, nequaquam Deos implores; irati, infesti-
que sunt.

M. FOR. CAT. in SALUST.

Printed in the YEAR MDCCXLVII.



Non Votis, &c.





PLAIN TRUTH, &c.

IT is said the wise *Italians* make this proverbial Remark on our Nation, viz. *The English FEEL, but they do not SEE.* That is, they are sensible of Inconveniencies when they are present, but do not take sufficient Care to prevent them; Their natural Courage makes them too little apprehensive of Danger, so that they are often surpriz'd by it, unprovided of the proper Means of Security, When 'tis too late they are sensible of their Imprudence; After great Fires, they provide Buckets and Engines: After a Pestilence they think of keeping clean their Streets and common Shores: and when a Town has been sack'd by their Enemies, they provide for its Defence, &c. This Kind of AFTER-WISDOM is indeed so common with us, as to occasion the vulgar, tho' very significant Saying, *When the Steed is stolen, you shut the Stable Door.*

But the more insensible we generally are of publick Danger, and indifferent when warn'd of it, so much the more freely, openly, and earnestly, ought such as apprehend it, to speak their Sentiments; that if possible, those who seem to

A 2

sleep,

sleep, may be awaken'd, to think of some Means of Avoiding or Preventing the Mischief before it be too late.

Believing therefore that 'tis my DUTY, I shall honestly speak my Mind in the following Paper.

War, at this Time, rages over a great Part of the known World; our News-Papers are Weekly filled with fresh Accounts of the Destruction it every where occasions. *Pennsylvania*, indeed, situate in the Center of the Colonies, has hitherto enjoy'd profound Repose; and tho' our Nation is engag'd in a bloody War, with two great and powerful Kingdoms, yet, defended, in a great Degree, from the *French* on the one Hand by the Northern Provinces, and from the *Spaniards* on the other by the Southern, at no small Expence to each, our People have, till lately, slept securely in their Habitations.

There is no *British* Colony excepting this, but has made some Kind of Provision for its Defence; many of them have therefore never been attempted by an Enemy; and others that were attack'd, have generally defended themselves with Success. The Length and Difficulty of our Bay and River has been thought so effectual a Security to us, that hitherto no Means have been entered into that might discourage an Attempt upon us, or prevent its succeeding.

But whatever Security this might have been while both Country and City were poor, and the Advantage to be expected scarce worth the Hazard of an Attempt, it is now doubted whether we can any longer safely depend upon it. Our Wealth,
of

of late Years much encreas'd, is one strong Temptation, our defenceless State another, to induce an Enemy to attack us ; while the Acquaintance they have lately gained with our Bay and River, by Means of the Prisoners and Flags of Truce they have had among us ; by Spies which they almost every where maintain, and perhaps from Traitors among ourselves ; with the Facility of getting Pilots to conduct them ; and the known Absence of Ships of War, during the greatest Part of the Year, from both *Virginia* and *New-York*, ever since the War began, render the Appearance of Success to the Enemy far more promising, and therefore highly encrease our DANGER.

That our Enemies may have Spies abroad, and some even in these Colonies, will not be made much doubt of, when 'tis considered, that such has been the Practice of all Nations in all Ages, whenever they were engaged, or intended to engage in War. Of this we have an early Example in the Book of *Judges* (too too pertinent to our Case, and therefore I must beg leave a little to enlarge upon it) where we are told, *Chap. xviii. v. 2. That the Children of Dan sent of their Family five Men from their Coasts to spie out the Land, and search it, saying, Go, search the LAND. These Danites* it seems were at this Time not very orthodox in their Religion, and their Spies met with a certain idolatrous Priest of their own Persuasion, *v. 3. and they said to him, Who brought thee hither ! what makest thou in this Place ? and what hast thou here ?* [would to God no such Priests were to be found among us.]
And

And they said unto him *verse 5. Ask Counsel of God, that we may know whether our Way which we go shall be prosperous? And the Priest said unto them, Go in Peace; before the Lord is your Way wherein you go.* [Are there no Priests among us, think you, that might, in the like Case, give an Enemy as good Encouragement? 'Tis well known, that we have Numbers of the same Religion with those who of late encouraged the *French* to invade our Mother-Country] *And they came, Verse 7. to Laish, and saw the People that were therein, how they dwelt CARELESS, after the Manner of the Zidonians, QUIET and SECURE.* They thought themselves secure, no doubt; and as they never had been disturbed, vainly imagined they never should. 'Tis not unlikely that some might see the Danger they were exposed to by living in that *careless* Manner; but that if these publicly expressed their Apprehensions, the rest reproached them as timorous Persons, wanting Courage or Confidence in their Gods, who (they might say) had hitherto protected them. But the Spies, *Verse 8. returned, and said to their Countrymen, Verse 9. Arise that we may go up against them; for we have seen the Land, and behold it is very good! And are ye still? Be not slothful to go. Verse 10. When ye go, ye shall come unto a People SECURE;* [that is, a People that apprehend no Danger, and therefore have made no Provision against it; great Encouragement this!] *and to a large Land, and a Place where there is no Want of any Thing.* What could they desire more? Accordingly we find, in the following

following Verses, that *Six hundred Men* only, appointed with *Weapons of War*, undertook the Conquest of this *large Land*; knowing that 600 Men, armed and disciplined, would be an Over-match perhaps for 60,000, unarmed, undisciplined, and off their Guard. And when they went against it, the idolatrous Priest, Verse 17. *with his graven Image, and his Ephod, and his Teraphim, and his molten Image*, [Plenty of superstitious Trinkets] joined with them, and, no doubt, gave them all the Intelligence and Assistance in his Power; his Heart, as the Text assures us, *being glad*, perhaps for Reasons more than one. And now, what was the Fate of poor *Laiſh*! The 600 Men being arrived, found, as the Spies had reported, a People QUIET and SECURE, Verse 20, 21. *And they smote them with the Edge of the Sword, and burnt the City with FIRE; and there was no DELIVERER, because it was far from Zidon.*—Not so far from Zidon, however, as *Pennsylvania* is from *Britain*; and yet we are, if possible, more *careless* than the People of *Laiſh*!—As the Scriptures are given for our Reproof, Instruction and Warning, may we make a due Use of this Example, before it be too late!

And is our *Country*, any more than our *City*, altogether free from Danger? Perhaps not. We have, 'tis true, had a long Peace with the *Indians*: But it is a long Peace indeed, as well as a long Lane, that has no Ending. The *French* know the Power and Importance of the *Six Nations*, and spare no Artifice, Pains or Expence,
to

to gain them to their Interest. By their Priests they have converted many to their Religion, and ‡ these have openly espoused their Cause. The rest appear irresolute which Part to take ; no Persuasions, tho' enforced with costly Presents, having yet been able to engage them generally on our Side, tho' we had numerous Forces on their Borders, ready to second and support them. What then may be expected, now those Forces are, by Orders from the Crown, to be disbanded ; when our boasted Expedition is laid aside, thro' want (as it may appear to them) either of Strength or Courage ; when they see that the *French*, and their *Indians*, boldly, and with Impunity, ravage the Frontiers of *New-York*, and scalp the Inhabitants ; when those few *Indians* that engaged with us against the *French*, are left exposed to their Resentment : When they consider these Things, is there no Danger that, thro' Disgust at our Usage, joined with Fear of the *French* Power, and greater Confidence in their Promises and Protection than in ours, they may be wholly gained over by our Enemies, and join in the War against us ? If such should be the Case, which God forbid, how soon may the Mischief spread to our Frontier Counties ? And what may we expect to be the Consequence, but deserting of Plantations, Ruin, Bloodshed and Confusion !

Perhaps some in the City, Towns and Plantations near the River, may say to themselves, *An Indian War on the Frontiers will not affect us ; the*
Enemy

‡ The Praying Indians.

Enemy will never come near our Habitations; let those concern'd take Care of themselves. And others who live in the Country, when they are told of the Danger the City is in from Attempts by Sea; may say, *What is that to us? The Enemy will be satisfied with the Plunder of the Town, and never think it worth his while to visit our Plantations: Let the Town take care of itself.* These are not mere Suppositions, for I have heard some talk in this strange Manner. But are these the Sentiments of true *Pennsylvanians*, of Fellow-Countrymen, or even of Men that have common Sense or Goodness? Is not the whole Province one Body, united by living under the same Laws, and enjoying the same Priviledges? Are not the People of City and Country connected as Relations both by Blood and Marriage, and in Friendships equally dear? Are they not likewise united in Interest, and mutually useful and necessary to each other? When the Feet are wounded, shall the Head say, *It is not me; I will not trouble myself to contrive Relief!* Or if the Head is in Danger, shall the Hands say, *We are not affected, and therefore will lend no Assistance!* No. For so would the Body be easily destroyed: But when all Parts join their Endeavours for its Security, it is often preserved. And such should be the Union between the Country and the Town; and such their mutual Endeavours for the Safety of the Whole. When *New-England*, a distant Colony, involv'd itself in a grievous Debt to reduce *Cape-Breton*, we freely gave *Four Thousand Pounds* for their Relief. And at another Time, remembering that

Great Britain, still more distant, groan'd under heavy Taxes in Supporting the War, we threw in our Mite to their Assistance, by a free Gift of *Three Thousand Pounds*: And shall Country and Town join in helping Strangers (as those comparatively are) and yet refuse to assist each other?

But whatever different Opinions we have of our Security in other Respects, our TRADE, all seem to agree, is in Danger of being ruin'd in another Year. The great Success of our Enemies, in two different Cruizes this last Summer in our Bay, must give them the greatest Encouragement to repeat more frequently their Visits, the Profit being almost certain, and the Risque next to nothing. Will not the first Effect of this, be, an Enhauncing of the Price of all foreign Goods to the Tradesman and Farmer, who use or consume them? For the Rate of Insurance will increase in Proportion to the Hazard of Importing them; and in the same Proportion will the Price of those Goods increase.—If the Price of the Tradesman's Work and the Farmer's Produce would encrease equally with the Price of foreign Commodities, the Damage would not be so great: But the direct contrary must happen. For the same Hazard, or Rate of Insurance, that raises the Price of what is imported, must be deducted out of, and lower the Price of what is exported. Without this Addition and Deduction, as long as the Enemy cruize at our Capes, and take those Vessels that attempt to go out, as well as those that endeavour to come in, none can afford to trade, and Business must be soon at a Stand.
And

And will not the Consequences be, A discouraging of many of the Vessels that us'd to come from other Places to purchase our Produce, and thereby a Turning of the Trade to Ports that can be entered with less Danger, and capable of furnishing them with the same Commodities, as *New-York*, &c. A Lessening of Business to every Shopkeeper, together with Multitudes of bad Debts; the high Rate of Goods discouraging the Buyers, and the low Rates of their Labour and Produce rendering them unable to pay for what they had bought: Loss of Employment to the Tradesman, and bad Pay for what little he does; And lastly, Loss of many Inhabitants, who will retire to other Provinces not subject to the like Inconveniencies; whence a Lowering of the Value of Lands, Lots, and Houses.

The Enemy, no doubt, have been told, That the People of *Pennsylvania* are *Quakers*, and against all Defence, from a Principle of Conscience; this, tho' true of a Part, and that a small Part only of the Inhabitants, is commonly said of the Whole; and what may make it look probable to Strangers, is, that in Fact, nothing is done by any Part of the People towards their Defence. But to refuse Defending one's self or one's Country, is so unusual a Thing among Mankind, that possibly they may not believe it, till by Experience they find, they can come higher and higher up our River, seize our Vessels, land and plunder our Plantations and Villages, and retire with their Booty unmolested. Will not this confirm the Report, and give them the greatest Encouragement to strike one

B 2

bold

bold Stroke for the City, and for the whole Plunder of the River?

It is said by some, that the Expence of a Vessel to guard our Trade, would be very heavy, greater than perhaps all the Enemy can be supposed to take from us at Sea would amount to; and that it would be cheaper for the Government to open an Insurance-Office, and pay all Losses.— But is this right Reasoning?— I think not: For what the Enemy takes is clear Loss to us, and Gain to him; encreasing his Riches and Strength as much as it diminishes ours, so making the Difference double; whereas the Money paid our own Tradesmen for Building and Fitting out a Vessel of Defence, remains in the Country, and circulates among us; what is paid to the Officers and Seamen that navigate her, is also spent ashore, and soon gets into other Hands; the Farmer receives the Money for her Provisions; and on the whole, nothing is clearly lost to the Country but her Wear and Tear, or so much as she sells for at the End of the War less than her first Cost. This Loss, and a trifling one it is, is all the Inconvenience; But how many and how great are the Conveniencies and Advantages! And should the Enemy, thro' our Supineness and Neglect to provide for the Defence both of our Trade and Country, be encouraged to attempt this City, and after plundering us of our Goods, either *burn it*, or put it to Ransom; how great would that Loss be! Besides the Confusion, Terror, and Distress, so many Hundreds of Families would be involv'd in!

The

The Thought of this latter Circumstance so much affects me, that I cannot forbear expatiating somewhat more upon it. You have, my dear Countrymen, and Fellow Citizens, Riches to tempt a considerable Force to unite and attack you, but are under no Ties or Engagements to unite for your Defence. Hence, on the first Alarm, *Terror* will spread over All; and as no Man can with Certainty depend that another will stand by him, beyond Doubt very many will seek Safety by a speedy Flight. Those that are reputed rich, will flee, thro' Fear of Torture, to make them produce more than they are able. The Man that has a Wife and Children, will find them hanging on his Neck, beseeching him with Tears to quit the City, and save his Life, to guide and protect them in that Time of general Desolation and Ruin. All will run into Confusion, amidst Cries and Lamentations, and the Hurry and Disorder of Departers, carrying away their Effects. The Few that remain will be unable to resist.—*Sacking* the City will be the first, and *Burning* it, in all Probability, the last Act of the Enemy.—This, I believe, will be the Case, if you have timely Notice. But what must be your Condition, if suddenly surprized, without previous Alarm, perhaps in the Night! Confined to your Houses, you wil' have nothing to trust to but the Enemy's Mercy. Your best Fortune will be, to fall under the Power of Commanders of King's Ships, able to controul the Mariners; and not into the Hands of *licentious Privateers*. Who can, without the utmost Hor-

ror, conceive the Miseries of the Latter ! when your Persons, Fortunes, Wives and Daughters, shall be subject to the wanton and unbridled Rage, Rapine and Lust, of *Negroes, Molattoes*, and others, the vilest and most abandoned of Mankind*. A dreadful Scene ! which some may represent as exaggerated.—I think it my Duty to warn you : Judge for yourselves.

'Tis true, with very little Notice, the Rich may shift for themselves. The Means of speedy Flight are ready in their Hands ; and with some previous Care to lodge Money and Effects in distant and secure Places, tho' they should lose much, yet enough may be left them, and to spare. But most unhappily circumstanced indeed are we, the middling People, the Tradesmen, Shopkeepers, and Farmers of this Province and City ! We cannot all fly with our Families ; and if we could, how shall we subsist ?—No ; we and they, and what little we have gained by hard Labour and Industry, must bear the Brunt : The Weight of Contributions, extorted by the Enemy (as it is of Taxes among ourselves) must be surely borne by us. Nor can it be avoided as we stand at present ; for tho' we are numerous, we are

* By Accounts, the ragged Crew of the *Spanish* Privateer that plundered Mr. *Lisbon's*, and another Plantation, a little below *Newcastle*, was composed of such as these. The *Honour* and *Humanity* of their Officers may be judg'd of, by the Treatment they gave poor Capt. *Brown*, whom they took with *Martin's* Ship in Returning from their Cruize. Because he bravely defended himself and Vessel longer than they expected, for which every generous Enemy would have esteem'd him, did they, after he had struck and submitted, barbarously *stab* and *murder* him, tho' on his Knees begging Quarter !

are quite defenceless, having neither Forts, Arms, Union, nor Discipline. And tho' it were true, that our Trade might be protected at no great Expence, and our Country and our City easily defended, if proper Measures were but taken; yet who shall take these Measures? Who shall pay that Expence? On whom may we fix our Eyes with the least Expectation that they will do any one Thing for our Security?—Should we address that wealthy and powerful Body of People, who have ever since the War governed our Elections, and filled almost every Seat in our Assembly; should we intreat them to consider, if not as Friends, at least as Legislators, that *Protection* is as truly due from the Government to the People, as *Obedience* from the People to the Government; and that if on account of their religious Scruples, they themselves could do no Act for our Defence, yet they might retire, relinquish their Power for a Season, quit the Helm to freer Hands during the present Tempest, to Hands chosen by their own Interest too, whose Prudence and Moderation, with regard to them, they might safely confide in; secure, from their own native Strength, of resuming again their present Stations, whenever it shall please them: Should we remind them, that the Publick Money, raised *from All*, belongs *to All*; that since they have, for their own Ease, and to secure themselves in the quiet Enjoyment of their Religious Principles (and may they long enjoy them) expended such large Sums to oppose Petitions, and engage favourable Representations of their Conduct, if they themselves could by no Means

Means be free to appropriate any Part of the Publick Money for our Defence ; yet it would be no more than Justice to spare us a reasonable Sum for that Purpose, which they might easily give to the King's Use as heretofore, leaving all the Appropriation to others, who would faithfully apply it as we desired : Should we tell them, that tho' the Treasury be at present empty, it may soon be filled by the outstanding Publick Debts collected ; or at least Credit might be had for such a Sum, on a single Vote of the Assembly : That tho' *they* themselves may be resigned and easy under this naked, defenceless State of the Country, it is far otherwise with a very great Part of the People ; with *us*, who can have no Confidence that God will protect those that neglect the Use of rational Means for their Security ; nor have any Reason to hope, that our Losses, if we should suffer any, may be made up by Collections in our Favour at Home. Should we conjure them by all the Ties of Neighbourhood, Friendship, Justice and Humanity, to consider these Things ; and what Distraction, Misery and Confusion, what Desolation and Distress, may possibly be the Effect of their *unseasonable* Predominancy and Perseverance ; yet all would be in vain : For they have already been by great Numbers of the People petitioned in vain. Our late Governor did for Years solicit, request, and even threaten them in vain. The Council have since twice remonstrated to them in vain. Their religious Prepossessions are unchangeable, their Obstinacy invincible. Is there then the least
Hope

Hope remaining, that from that Quarter any Thing should arise for our Security?

And is our Prospect better; if we turn our Eyes to the Strength of the *opposite Party*, those Great and rich Men; Merchants and others, who are ever railing at *Quakers* for doing what their Principles seem to require, and what in Charity we ought to believe they think their Duty, but take no one Step themselves for the Publick Safety. They have so much Wealth and Influence, if they would use it, that they might easily, by their Endeavours and Example, raise a military Spirit among us; make us fond, studious of, and expert in Martial Discipline, and effect every Thing that is necessary, under God, for our Protection. But ENVY seems to have taken Possession of their Hearts, and to have eaten out and destroyed every generous, noble, Publick-spirited Sentiment. Rage at the Disappointment of their little Schemes for Power, gnaws their Souls; and fills them with such cordial Hatred to their Opponents, that every Proposal, by the Execution of which *those* may receive Benefit as well as themselves, is rejected with Indignation. *What*; say they, *shall we lay out our Money to protect the Trade of Quakers? Shall we fight to defend Quakers? No; Let the Trade perish, and the City burn; let what will happen; we shall never lift a Finger to prevent it.*—Yet the Quakers have Conscience to plead for their Resolution not to fight, which these Gentlemen have not: Conscience with you, Gentlemen, is on the other Side of the Question: Conscience enjoins

It as a DUTY on you (and indeed I think it such on every Man) to defend your Country, your Friends, your aged Parents, your Wives, and helpless Children : And yet you resolve not to perform this Duty, but act *contrary* to your own Consciences, because the Quakers act *according to theirs*. 'Till of late I could scarce believe the Story of him who refused to pump in a sinking Ship, because one on board, whom he hated, would be saved by it as well as himself. But such, it seems, is the Unhappiness of human Nature, that our Passions, when violent, often are too hard for the united Force of *Reason, Duty and Religion*.

Thus unfortunately are we circumstanc'd at this Time, my dear Countrymen and Fellow-Citizens ; we, I mean, the middling People, the Farmers, Shopkeepers and Tradesmen of this City and Country. Thro' the Dissensions of our Leaders, thro' *mistaken Principles of Religion*, join'd with a Love of Worldly Power, on the one Hand ; thro' *Pride, Envy and implacable Resentment* on the other ; our Lives, our Families and little Fortunes, dear to us as any Great Man's can be to him, are to remain continually expos'd to Destruction, from an enterprizing, cruel, now well-inform'd, and by Success encourag'd Enemy. It seems as if Heaven, justly displeas'd at our growing Wickedness, and determin'd to * punish this once favour'd Land, had suffer-
ed

* When God determined to punish his chosen People, the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, who, tho' Breakers of his other Laws, were scrupulous Observers of that ONE which required keeping

ed our Chiefs to engage in these foolish and mischievous Contentions, for *little Posts* and *paltry Distinctions*, that our Hands might be bound up, our Understandings darkned and misled, and every Means of our Security neglected. It seems as if our greatest Men, our *Cives nobilissimi* † of both Parties, had *sworn the Ruin of the Country*, and *invited the French*, our *most inveterate Enemy*, to *destroy it*. Where then shall we seek for Succour and Protection? The Government we are immediately under denies it to us; and if the Enemy comes, we are *far from ZIDON*, and *there is no Deliverer near*.—Our Case indeed is dangerously bad; but perhaps there is yet a Remedy, if we have but the Prudence and the Spirit to apply it.

If this now flourishing City, and greatly improving Colony, is destroy'd and ruin'd, it will not be for want of Numbers of Inhabitants able to bear Arms in its Defence. 'Tis computed that we have at least (exclusive of the Quakers) 60,000 Fighting Men, acquainted with Fire-Arms, many of them Hunters and Marksmen, hardy and bold. All we want is Order, Discipline, and a few Cannon. At present we are like the separate Filaments of Flax before the

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Thread

holy the Sabbath Day; he suffered even the strict Observation of that Command to be their Ruin: For *Pompey* observing that they *then* obstinately refused to fight, made a general Assault on that Day, took the Town, and butcher'd them with as little Mercy as he found Resistance.

JOSEPHUS.

† *Conjuravere cives nobilissimi Patriam incendere; GALLORUM GENTEM, infestissimam nomini Romano, ad Bellum arcessunt.*

CAT. in SALUST.

Thread is form'd, without Strength because without Connection ; but UNION would make us strong and even formidable ; Tho' the *Great* should neither help nor join us ; tho' they should even oppose our Uniting, from some mean Views of their own, yet, if we resolve upon it, and it please G O D to inspire us with the necessary Prudence and Vigour, it *may* be effected.

—Great Numbers of our People are of BRITISH RACE, and tho' the fierce fighting Animals of those happy Islands, are said to abate their native Fire and Intrepidity, when removed to a Foreign Clime, yet with the People 'tis not so ; Our Neighbours of *New-England* afford the World a convincing Proof, that BRITONS, tho' a Hundred Years transplanted, and to the remotest Part of the Earth, may yet retain, even to the third and fourth Descent, that *Zeal* for the *Publick Good*, that *military Prowess*, and that *undaunted Spirit*, which has in every Age distinguished their Nation. What Numbers have we likewise of *those brave People*, whose Fathers in the last Age made so glorious a Stand for our Religion and Liberties, when invaded by a powerful *French Army*, join'd by *Irish* Catholics, under a bigotted *Popish King* ! Let the memorable SIEGE of LONDONDERRY, and the signal Actions of the INISKILLINGERS, by which the Heart of that Prince's Schemes was broken, be perpetual Testimonies of the *Courage* and *Conduct* of those *noble Warriors* !——Nor are there wanting amongst us, Thousands of *that Warlike Nation*, whose Sons have ever since the Time

of

of *Cæsar* maintained the Character he gave their Fathers, of joining the most *obstinate Courage* to all the other military Virtues. I mean the *brave* and *steady* GERMANS. Numbers of whom have actually borne Arms in the Service of their respective Princes ; and if they fought well for their Tyrants and Oppressors, would they refuse to unite with us in Defence of their *newly acquired* and most precious *Liberty* and *Property* ? Were this Union form'd, were we once united, thoroughly arm'd and disciplin'd, was every Thing in our Power done for our Security, as far as human Means and Foresight could provide, we might then, *with more Propriety*, humbly ask the Assistance of Heaven, and a Blessing on our lawful Endeavours. The very Fame of our Strength and Readiness would be a Means of Discouraging our Enemies ; for 'tis a wise and true Saying, that *One Sword often keeps another in the Scabbard*. The Way to secure Peace is to be prepared for War. They that are on their Guard, and appear ready to receive their Adversaries, are in much less Danger of being attack'd, than the supine, secure and negligent. We have yet a Winter before us, which may afford a good and almost sufficient Opportunity for this, if we seize and improve it with a becoming Vigour. And if the Hints contained in this Paper are so happy as to meet with a suitable Disposition of Mind in his Countrymen and Fellow Citizens, the Writer of it will, in a few Days, lay before them a Form of an ASSOCIATION for the Purposes herein mentioned, together with a practicable

practicable Scheme for raising the Money necessary for the Defence of our Trade, City, and Country, without laying a Burthen on any Man.

May the GOD of WISDOM, STRENGTH and POWER, the Lord of the Armies of Israel, inspire us with Prudence in this Time of DANGER; take away from us all the Seeds of Contention and Division, and unite the Hearts and Counsels of all of us, of whatever SECT or NATION, in one Bond of Peace, Brotherly Love, and generous Publick Spirit; May he give us Strength and Resolution to amend our Lives, and remove from among us every Thing that is displeasing to him; afford us his most gracious Protection, confound the Designs of our Enemies, and give PEACE in all our Borders, is the sincere Prayer of

A TRADESMAN of Philadelphia.



F I N I S.

It is thought proper to add to this Second Edition, the following

E X T R A C T
FROM THE
PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE,

November 19. 1747.

Mr. *FRANKLIN*,

FOR the Entertainment of your Readers unskill'd in the *Latin* Tongue, I send you a Translation of the Sentences prefix'd to the Pamphlet call'd *PLAIN TRUTH*, lately publish'd. I can't say the Translation is strictly verbal, nor do I pretend to have reach'd the masterly Force and Beauty of the Original. To transfuse the Spirit of the noble *Roman* Patriot into our Language, requires a much abler Pen. If I have given you his general Sense and Meaning, it will fully answer my Design and Expectation. Be pleas'd to let it have a Place in your next, and you will much oblige,

Yours, &c. X.

Should the City be taken, all will be lost to the Conquered. Therefore if you desire to preserve your Buildings, Houses and Country Seats, your Statues, Paintings, and all your other Possessions, which you so highly esteem ; if you wish to continue

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true in the Enjoyment of them, as to have Leisure
for any other Pleasure; I beseech you, by the
immortal God, rouse at last awake from your
Slumber, and save the Common-Wealth. It is
a distressing Concern of Injuries from your Al-
lies, that demands your Attention; your Liberties,
Lives, and Fortunes, with every Thing that is
interesting and dear to you, are in the most immi-
nent Danger.

Can you doubt of, or delay what you ought to
do, now, when the Enemies Swords are un-
sheath'd, and descending on your Heads?---The
Affair is shocking and horrid! Yet, perhaps,
you are not afraid.---Yes---You are terrified to
the highest Degree. But thro' Indolence and Sur-
pinenels of Soul, gazing at each other, to see who
shall first rise to your Succour, and a presump-
tuous Dependence on the immortal Gods, who in-
deed have preserv'd this Republick in many dange-
rous Seasons; you delay and neglect every Thing
necessary for your Preservation. Be not deceived
---Divine Assistance and Protection are not to
be obtain'd by timorous Prayers; and weak
Supplications. To succeed, you must join military
Counsels, Vigilance, and courageous Actions. If
you sink into Effeminacy and Cowardice; if you
desert the Tender and Helpless; by Providence
committed to your Charge; never presume to im-
plore the Gods.---It will provoke them, and raise
their Indignation against you.

